

## Message Text

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ORIGIN ARA-14

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TO AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR PRIORITY

INFO AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA PRIORITY

AMCONSUL BELIZE PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 184775

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PORG, PBOR, HO, ES, GT, BH, US

SUBJECT: MEETING WITH HONDURAN DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER  
CALLEJAS

SUMMARY: ON TUESDAY, AUGUST 2, DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY FRANK DEVINE MET WITH HONDURAN OFFICIALS - DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER POLICARPO CALLEJAS AND AMBASSADOR ROBERTO LAZARUS, AT THEIR REQUEST. ARA/CEN DIRECTOR MATTHEWS AND COUNTRY OFFICER HICKS WERE ALSO PRESENT. THE PURPOSE OF THE MEETING WAS (1) TO CONVEY HONDURAS' DESIRE FOR A MORE ACTIVE (BUT DISCREET) USG ROLE IN PROMOTING EL SALVADOR'S RATIFICATION OF THE MEDIATION AGREEMENT SIGNED IN 1976 AND (2) TO DISCUSS THE GUATEMALA/BELIZE SITUATION. END SUMMARY.

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1. CALLEJAS BEGAN BY NOTING HE HAD REQUESTED TO MEET WITH ASSISTANT SECRETARY TODMAN IN ORDER TO EXTEND AN INVITATION FOR THE LATTER TO VISIT HONDURAS. DEVINE REGRETTED THAT PRIOR OBLIGATIONS PREVENTED TODMAN FROM BEING PRESENT. HE ADDED THAT THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY WOULD VISIT FOUR LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES IN VERY NEAR FUTURE AND ULTIMATELY INTENDS TO VISIT ALL COUNTRIES IN THE REGION. IT WAS NOT YET POSSIBLE TO SAY EXACTLY WHEN TODMAN WOULD BE ABLE TO ACCEPT THE CONSIDERATE AND VERY MUCH APPRECIATED GOH INVITATION.

2. GUATEMALA/BELIZE PROBLEM: CALLEJAS DEPICTED PROBLEMS ATTENDANT UPON THE THREAT OF WAR BETWEEN GUATEMALA AND BRITAIN OVER THE BELIZE QUESTION. HE OBSERVED THAT, IF A BELLICOSE CONFRONTATION MATERIALIZES, ALL THE CENTRAL AMERICAN COUNTRIES WOULD BE SERIOUSLY AFFECTED. HE NOTED THAT EL SALVADOR SUPPORTS GUATEMALA "UNCONDITIONALLY," BUT THAT THE OTHER CENTRAL AMERICAN COUNTRIES HAD DECIDED TO CONFINE THEIR SUPPORT TO MORAL AND POLITICAL MEASURES. HONDURAS, SHARING BORDERS WITH THREE COUNTRIES, IS PARTICULARLY INTERESTED IN SEEING THE BELIZE-RELATED TENSIONS EASED, PARTLY, HE IMPLIED, BECAUSE EL SALVADOR'S CLOSE SUPPORT OF GUATEMALA IN THAT DISPUTE COULD DRAW RECIPROCAL SUPPORT FROM GUATEMALA IN EL SALVADOR'S DISPUTE WITH HONDURAS. THEREFORE, CALLEJAS EXPLAINED, HONDURAS BELIEVES THAT AN ACTIVE ROLE BY THE USG IN THE BELIZE DISPUTE COULD HELP. DEVINE EXPRESSED HIS UNDERSTANDING OF THE CONCERNS OF HONDURAS. HE SAID THAT BRITISH MINISTER OF STATE TED ROWLAND'S VISIT WAS ENCOURAGING AS AN OPPORTUNITY FOR DIRECT DISCUSSIONS AND AN INDICATION OF SERIOUS INTENT BY THE PARTIES TO SEEK A PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM. BOTH SIDES SEEMED PERSUADED OF THE NEED FOR MODERATION, PRUDENCE AND A PACIFIC SOLUTION. CONFIDENTIAL

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TION. MATTHEWS AGREED, NOTING THAT THE PRINCIPAL BENEFIT OF THE DISCUSSIONS WAS ITS CONTRIBUTION TO A MORE TEMPERED AMBIENCE RATHER THAN DETAILS OF AN EVENTUAL SETTLEMENT. AFTER A BRIEF REFERENCE BY CALLEJAS TO THE PIVOTAL QUESTION OF THE MONKEY RIVER IN DRAWING A BOUNDARY ACCEPTABLE TO ALL, DEVINE OPINED THAT THE SPECIFIC LINE ITSELF WAS LESS IMPORTANT THAN AN ATTITUDE OF WILLINGNESS TO NEGOTIATE. CALLEJAS SAID THAT HONDURAS SEES AN IMMINENT PERIL FOR ITSELF, FOR IT CANNOT HELP BEING AFFECTED BY WHATEVER TRANSPIRES WITH GUATEMALA AND BELIZE. HE STRESSED THAT HIS COUNTRY DOESN'T WANT TO BECOME ENTANGLED (ENVUELTO) IN A CONFLICT. DEVINE SAID THAT WHILE THE USG IS NOT INVOLVED IN THE DISPUTE, IT HAD CERTAINLY COUNSELED MODERATION AND PATIENCE ON THE PART OF THE PARTICIPANTS AND IN THIS WAY HOPED THAT IT HAD MADE A POSITIVE CONTRIBUTION TO THE CAUSE OF PEACE IN THE REGION.

3. EL SALVADOR AND RATIFICATION OF MEDIATION FORMULA: TURNING TO RELATIONS WITH EL SALVADOR, CALLEJAS BRIEFLY RECAPITULATED PROBLEMS OF DEALING WITH EL SALVADOR SINCE 1969 IN SEEKING A SOLUTION TO THEIR BOUNDARY DISPUTE. HE INCLUDED EXPRESSION OF APPRECIATION FOR THE OAS OBSERVER TEAM WHICH MONITORS THE BORDER. DEVINE INTERJECTED THAT SUCH SUPPORT COULD NOT BE CONSIDERED PERMANENT. CALLEJAS SAID HE REALIZED THAT. PRINCIPALLY, CALLEJAS CONTINUED, THE USG HAS BEEN ACTING THROUGH, AND IN SUPPORT

OF, THE OAS. NOW HONDURAS IS REQUESTING THE USG TO USE ITS VARIOUS DIPLOMATIC MEANS, IN A DISCREET WAY, TO APPROACH EL SALVADOR REGARDING RATIFICATION. THIS WOULD BE A POSITIVE FORM OF INTERVENTION (INGERENCIA), HE SAID. DEVINE REPLIED THAT HE WOULD CONVEY CALLEJAS COMMENTS TO HIS COLLEAGUES SO THAT THEY MIGHT CONSIDER THIS POSSIBILITY. HE SAID THAT THE ATTITUDE OF THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION FAVORS A MORE POSITIVE U.S. CONTRIBUTION TO ASSISTING IN ALLEVIATING LATIN AMERICAN PROBLEMS. CALLEJAS  
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SAID RATIFICATION OF THE MEDIATION FORMULA BY EL SALVADOR IS IMPORTANT NOT ONLY FOR HONDURAS BUT FOR ALL THE COUNTRIES OF THE REGION. HE SAID THAT IT SHOULD POSE NO PROBLEM FOR EL SALVADOR SINCE IT DOESN'T PRECLUDE DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS. SPEAKING OF THE PRESENT STANCE OF EL SALVADOR, CALLEJAS NOTED THAT PRESIDENT ROMERO'S STATEMENTS TO THE PRESS REFLECTED THE LATTER'S VIEW THAT THE SALVADORAN PEOPLE, AS WELL AS THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, MUST APPROVE THE RATIFICATION STEP. HONDURAS DOESN'T REGARD THIS ATTITUDE AS PROMISING. CALLEJAS SAID, IN EFFECT, THAT EL SALVADOR HAS BEEN LONG ON WORDS AND SHORT ON ACTIONS AS FAR AS RATIFICATION WAS CONCERNED. HE ENUMERATED THE SERIES OF PROMISES AND DELAYS FROM EL SALVADOR - WHICH WERE RELATED TO FEBRUARY ELECTION, POST-ELECTION DISTURBANCES, BORGONOVO'S MURDER, AND THE ADVENT OF A NEW REGIME. IN RESPONSE TO DEVINE'S QUESTION, CALLEJAS SAID HE COULDN'T EXPLAIN THE REASONS FOR EL SALVADOR'S DEMURRAL ON RATIFICATION. MATTHEWS MENTIONED THAT, IN MAY, PRESIDENT MOLINA HAD INDICATED TO HIM THAT RATIFICATION WAS IMMINENT AT THAT TIME. CALLEJAS EMPHASIZED THAT THE IMPASSE AND TENSIONS BETWEEN HONDURAS AND EL SALVADOR HAD SIGNIFICANT ECONOMIC REPERCUSSIONS FOR HONDURAS AND THE REGION. HE NOTED THAT IT UNDERMINES USG POLICY BY CONTRIBUTING TO ARMS RACE. HE SAID THAT WHILE THE OBSERVER TEAM IS MUCH APPRECIATED, A MORE ACTIVE USG ROLE IS DESIRED BY HONDURAS. HE ADDED THAT, GIVEN PRESIDENT CARTER'S ESPOUSAL OF HUMAN RIGHTS, HONDURAS WOULD NATURALLY EXPECT THE USG TO BE HIGHLY INTERESTED IN CIRCUMSTANCES CONFRONTING HONDURAS, A COUNTRY WITH A GOOD (SIC) HUMAN RIGHTS RECORD. WHAT IS REALLY BEING ASKED IS FOR THE USG TO TRANSLATE ITS "NEW" INTEREST IN LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN INTO MEANINGFUL ACTION. DEVINE ASKED IF HE WERE SUGGESTING  
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THAT SOME SORT OF PUSH (EMPUJE) SEEMED NECESSARY. ALTHOUGH HE COULDN'T PROMISE ANYTHING, HE WOULD TRANSMIT CALLEJAS' IDEAS TO HIS COLLEAGUES AND EXPLORE THEM. HE ALSO SAID ANY ACTION THE USG MIGHT DECIDE TO TAKE WOULD

BE DONE IN AN IMPARTIAL MANNER, NOT TAKING SIDES WITH ANY PARTY. CALLEJAS REPLIED THAT THIS WAS UNDERSTOOD. DEVINE EXPRESSED HIS AWARENESS THAT THE SALVADORAN-HONDURAN IMPASSE HAD IMPEDED (PARALYZED, SAID CALLEJAS) REGIONAL ECONOMIC INTEGRATION IN CENTRAL AMERICA. CALLEJAS BRIEFLY DESCRIBED HOW HONDURAS AND EL SALVADOR WERE DEALING ECONOMICALLY IN PARALLEL WITH THE REST OF THE REGION DURING THIS IMPASSE. HE EMPHASIZED AGAIN THAT A MORE ACTIVE USG INTEREST WOULD HELP.

4. DEVINE SUGGESTED THAT IT WOULD SEEM IMPORTANT TO MAINTAIN CONFIDENTIALITY ABOUT THIS ASPECT OF THE PRESENT MEETING'S DISCUSSION SINCE ANY REVELATION OF ITS PURPOSE MIGHT BE MISCONSTRUED BY EL SALVADOR OR OTHERS AND DEFEAT IN ADVANCE ANY CONSTRUCTIVE STEPS WHICH MIGHT BE DECIDED UPON. CALLEJAS SAID, IF QUERIED BY THE VERY INQUISITIVE AND UNCONTROLLED HONDURAS PRESS, HE WOULD INDICATE ONLY THAT HE PAID A COURTESY CALL AT THE DEPARTMENT, HELD ROUTINE CONVERSATIONS, TOUCHING UPON DIVERSE MATTERS, AND BILATERAL CONCERNS IN PARTICULAR.

5. HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE SAN JOSE PACT: DEVINE REFERRED BACK TO CALLEJAS' REMARKS CONCERNING HONDURAS' HUMAN RIGHTS RECORD (COMPARED TO EL SALVADOR, IN PARTICULAR). HE SAID THAT, THROUGH PUBLIC STATEMENTS, EMISSARIES AND THE LIKE, THE USG HAS BEEN ATTEMPTING BENEFICALLY TO AFFECT EL SALVADOR'S HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION. CALLEJAS SAID HE DIDN'T FORESEE MUCH IMPROVEMENT IN EL SALVADOR IN THE NEAR FUTURE. HE ADDED, AS A GENERAL COMMENT, THAT IT WOULD BE MORE EFFECTIVE FOR THE USG GENERALLY TO USE REWARDS (PREMIOS) INSTEAD OF SANCTIONS TO TRY TO IMPROVE A COUNTRY'S HUMAN RIGHTS PERFORMANCE. HE MENTIONED CONFIDENTIAL

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IN PASSING THAT U.S. HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY WAS AN IRRITANT (ABURRIDO) FOR MANY LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES. DEVINE BROUGHT UP THE FACT THAT DURING MRS. CARTER'S VISIT TO LATIN AMERICA, SHE MENTIONED HUMAN RIGHTS IN EVERY COUNTRY VISITED AS WELL AS THE DESIRABILITY OF NATIONS SIGNING AND RATIFYING THE SAN JOSE PACT. CALLEJAS SAID THAT HONDURAS HAD ADHERED TO THE PACT BUT NOT RATIFIED YET. HE EXPLAINED THAT THEY WOULD DO SO AS SOON AS EL SALVADOR RATIFIED THE MEDIATION AGREEMENT. IN NEW ORLEANS, ON MARCH 4, 1976, BOTH EL SALVADOR AND HONDURAS ISSUED A JOINT COMMUNIQUE COMMITTING THEM TO RATIFY THE SAN JOSE PACT, CALLEJAS NOTED. HE THEN SAID THAT FOR HONDURAS TO RATIFY AND EL SALVADOR NOT TO, AFTER HAVING THE SAME THING HAPPEN ON THE MEDIATION AGREEMENT, WOULD POSE SERIOUS PROBLEMS FOR INTERNAL HONDURAN PUBLIC OPINION. IT WOULD BE ADDITIONAL CONFIRMATION OF A VEXING PATTERN OF HONDURAS FULFILLING ITS COMMITMENTS TO PROMISES AND EL SALVADOR NOT DOING SO. CALLEJAS SAID THAT, AT THIS JUNCTURE,

IT'S IMPORTANT FOR EL SALVADOR TO DEMONSTRATE PROOF OF ITS GOOD INTENTIONS. DEVINE OBSERVED THAT IDEALLY THE TWO COUNTRIES MIGHT RATIFY THE SAN JOSE PACT SIMULTANEOUSLY.

CALLEJAS SAID HONDURAS WOULD HAVE NO PROBLEM RATIFYING THE PACT IF EL SALVADOR WOULD MOVE TO RATIFY ALSO. DURING THIS PART OF THE CONVERSATION, CALLEJAS VOLUNTEERED THAT, WHILE HAVING NO PROBLEM WITH THE RESOLUTION, HONDURAS HAD NOT VOTED FOR THE HUMAN RIGHTS RESOLUTION AT GRENADA OUT OF CONCERN FOR ITS RELATIONS WITH THE OTHER CENTRAL AMERICAN COUNTRIES WHICH HAD HUMAN RIGHTS PROBLEMS AND WHICH DID DIFFER WITH THE SUBSTANCE OF THE RESOLUTION.

6. LAZARUS MADE A GENERAL CONCLUDING REMARK CONCERNING  
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HONDURAS DESIRE FOR A MORE ACTIVE USG ROLE TO HELP THE CENTRAL AMERICAN COUNTRIES COPE WITH THEIR PROBLEMS. HE COMMENTED THAT IN OTHER INSTANCES AROUND THE WORLD, FOR EXAMPLE, THE NEAR EAST, THE USG IS ACTIVELY SEEKING TO ASSIST IN FINDING SOLUTIONS TO AVERT OVERT CONFLICTS. SO, TOO, DEMONSTRATING A SIMILAR DYNAMIC ROLE IN LATIN AMERICA WOULD BE AN INDEX OF USG REAL, POSITIVE INTEREST IN HEMISPHERIC AFFAIRS. DEVINE COMMENTED THAT POSITIVE PEACEKEEPING EFFORT WOULD BE CONSONANT WITH THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION'S ATTITUDE TOWARD LATIN AMERICA. HE CONCLUDED BY PROMISING AGAIN TO DISCUSS CALLEJAS' IDEAS WITH OTHERS IN THE DEPARTMENT. CHRISTOPHER

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